Western Carolinian.

It is even wise to abstain from laws, which however wise and good in themselves, have the semblance of injustice when they find no response in the heart of the citizen, and which will be evaded with little remorse. The wisdom of legislation is especially seen in grafting laws on conscience.

Dr. Channing.

[BY BURTON CRAIGE.] SALISBURY, ROWAN COUNTY, N. C.....MONDAY JULY 9, 1832. [VOL., XIII.]...NO. 631.

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SPEECH OF

MR. McDUFFIE, OF S. CAROLINA,

On the bill proposing a reduction of the duties on imports. Delivered in the House of Representatives, May 28, 1832.

Mr. McDuffie rose, and said: I propose sir, to submit some explanations, in addition to those already presented, in a different form, of the views and principles which induced the committee of Ways and means to report the present bill as an adjustment of the great subject of the tariff. I must however, in the outset, candidly acknowledge that I have not the least glimmering of hope that any thing I may utter at this time, or which any human being can advance in this Hall, will induce the majority to adopt the measure now proposed, or any other measure founded on similar principles. Nay, sir, I am reluctantly compelled to go still further, although I have been disposed to hope even against hope, that some providential coincidence of circumstances might yet intervene to incline the hearts of the majority to justice, and lead their deliberations to some propitious result; yet the developments and the experience of every day have rendered it more and more apparent that all such expectations are utterly vain and delusive. As to any adjustment of this great question, therefore, which shall give tranquility to the public mind, and restore the broken harmony of this Union, "my final hope is flat despair." Under these circumstances, it may seem singular, but it is nevertheless true, that it is precisely because I do not hope to produce conviction upon the minds of this committee, and have no expectaton that this great question will be adjusted here, that I am more particularly anxious to set forth, in the clearest and most distinct manner, the principles which will govern me, and, as I believe, those who are associated with me, as well as the States we in common represent, in all the vicissitudes of this great contest for our unalienable rights. Sir, it is vain, it is worse than vain, to attempt to put by, to evade, or to palter with this question. It can no longer be disguised, that there does exist, under the unjust and oppressive legislation of Congress, and without any agency of providence to that effect, a radical hostility of interests between the two great subdivisions of this confederacy. And if the power of the majority, and not their sense of justice, is to decide the present controversy, it will be impossible ever to reconcile these conflicting interests. Such being the case, God only knows what is to be the end of this great political drama. One thing is certain; an eventful political era is at hand, and whether it shall be signalized by the civil triumph, or by the catastrophe of constitutional liberty, history will record that triumph or that catastrophe, and posterity will pronounce judgment on the authors of it.

That my views and principles may be understood and appreciated by that august tribunal, and the record which history shall make up, may present the true issue between the two great contending parties, the oppressors and the oppressed, I will attempt, before I take my seat, to demonstrate how grievious are the wrongs we have too patiently endured, and how vital and sacred are the rights for which we are contending.

But, before I proceed to examine the equality and gross injustice of this combined system of taxation and protection, I shall ask the attention of the committee to a brief exposition of my views as to the amount of revenue which, under existing circumstances, I deem it expedient to provide for defraying the necessary and proper expenses of this Government.

In deciding this question, there is no better criterion to which we can resort than the average expenditures of a former period, which all must acknowledge to furnish a proper basis for such a calculation. In 1821, the army was reduced from a war to a peace establishment. From the year following this reduction to the close of Mr. Monroe's administration in 1824, inclusive, I have made a calculation of the average expenses of this Government for all objects, both permanent and contingent, and the result is, that these expenses amounted, annually, to a little more than ten millions of dollars. Many of those who hear me will bear me out when I say, that, when I first took my seat in this body I was regarded as very extravagant in my notions in relation to the public expenditure, because I justified the expenditures of that administration. Sir, Mr. Monroe's administration was denounced by a large party in this country for this extravagance. It was accused of preparing the way for a great and splendid government, instead of regarding those principles of economy laid down by the fathers of our political church. I did not think so then, and I do not think so now; and I shall hail the day when the present or any future administration shall bring back the expenses of the Government to the annual sum of ten millions, which I believe to be an ample provision for all the exigencies of the country. But, sir, so far from wishing to dismantle our fortifications, suffer the navy to rot upon the docks, and leave the nation entirely defenceless, as has been suggested in a report recently offered to the House, I am for maintaing all the institutions of the country on a respectable footing, and am willing, and have ever been willing, to raise whatever amount of revenue may be necessary for that purpose, though I am aware that the burthen will be very unequally distributed, even by this bill.

The essential institutions of the country are the army, the navy, and the civil establishment. These I regard as indispensable; I hold them to be necessary at all times, in peace and in war; for I fully recognize the truth of the maxim, that the best way to preserve peace, is to be prepared for war. Now, sir, during the last three years of Mr. Monroe's administration, it was denounced, as I have said, for its extravagance; and yet the total annual expenditure for the army, the navy, and the civil list, amounted, during those years to less than seven millions of dollars. I repeat it, sir, emphatically, that, when our army was more efficient, its ranks better filled, and its officers as numerous and competent as they now are, the annual expenses of the government for these three objects was less than seven millions of dollars. When you add to this the expenditure of the Indian department, and for other objects of a miscellaneous kind, each amounting to a little upwards of a half a million, it will be found, that, exclusive of pensions, the whole average expenditure of the United States, during those years, amounted to but little more than $8,000,000.

Assuming this as a basis, and I am satisfied that the amount will be more than sufficient, especially as our fortifications are nearly completed, and I hope never hereafter to see more than $500,000 annually expended upon them;) and as the improvement of our navy yards also are nearly completed; I affirm that more than eight millions of dollars will not be annually requirrd for objects of a permanent nature.

Then, as to pensions, I shall confine my views, in the first place, to the laws as they now stand, and not as it has been proposed to extend them. During the three years I have mentioned, the pension list was very large; since then, however the number of pensioners has been rapidly diminished by death. So that, whereas, in 1823, the sum expended on this object was nearly two millions, it is now less than one million, notwithstanding the great number of pensioners since put upon the roll, by special acts of Congress, and the relaxed rules of the War department.

It may fairly be presumed, calculating upon the probable mortality among men; none of them less than seventy years of age, that in the course of some five years, this branch of expenditure will be reduced to a very considerable sum.

It is to be remarked, that, after paying off the public debt, there will be a large surplus, not less than eight or ten millions, of the income of the year 1833, because the income of that will be principally derived from duties which accrued during the present year, under the existing tariff. Moreover, as the proposed reduction of the duties will be gradual—and I am willing to make it still more so, by extending the period of final reduction to three years—it is obvious that the surplus revenue must be considerable during all these years, and that the sufficiency of a revenue derived from average duties of 12½ per cent. will not be brought to the test in less than four or five years. Even if we suppose that the pension bill, now pending, should become a law, it is not probable that the whole pension establishment, four or five years hence, will require an expenditure of more than two millions. But be that as it may, eight millions will be amply sufficient for the permanent institutions and ordinary expenses, and all the revenue over that sum will be applicable to pensions and other objects.

The next inquiry in order, is, what amount of revenue a duty of 12½ per cent. upon all imports will bring into the Treasury? If we assume, as the basis of our estimate, the average amount of the merchandise imported for consumption during the last seven years, we shall have something less than six-nine millions as that average. The revenue from this amount of imports, at 12½ per cent. duty, would be something less than nine millions of dollars. But we are inquiring what will be the amount of the revenue, four or five years hence, after all the surpluses shall be exhausted: and I think it may be very safely estimated that the amount of the dutable imports, under this bill will not be less than eighty millions. There will be at least fifteen millions now annually applied to the payment of the existing duties, that will be disengaged from that object, and will be applicable to other purposes. It is a reasonable supposition that this amount, at least, will be applied to the purchase of foreign imports, in addition to the sum now thus applied. According to this view of the subject, making all proper allowances, it follows that the amount of the imports for consumption will be more than eighty millions the very first year the 12½ per cent. duty goes into operation; and, from the natural progress of population and wealth, that amount must increase considerably every year afterwards.

We shall have, then, an income of ten millions from the imposts: and even if we estimate the income from the public lands at one-half its present amount, that and the bank dividends will yield two millions more.

Having shown that only 8 millions will be required for the ordinary and permanent expenses of the Government, it follows that, with a revenue of twelve millions, there will be an annual surplus of four millions applicable to pensions & other objects of a contingent nature.

In presenting this brief view of the future income and expenditure of the Government, I will take occasion to remark, that if I should ever return to this body, I intend to propose a general system of retrenchment and economy; a system not founded on an indiscriminate hostility to our existing establishments, but on a deep conviction that these establishments can be maintained in purity and vigor only by the observance of a strict but judicious and liberal economy.

I am fully satisfied that, without reducing either the army or the navy, and without injuriously curtailing the salaries of any of the officers of Government, a saving may be effected of at least one half a million of dollars. Without going into details, I will barely suggest, that the Treasury Department alone opens a field in which retrenchments and reform may be employed with very great advantage to the country. Sir, under the complicated system of high minimum duties, the expenses of collecting the public revenue have increased enormously within the last ten years. At a former period, when our revenue from the imposts was equal to what it is now, the whole annual expense of collecting it did not amount to more than $700,000. Now, sir, it has swelled up to nearly double that amount.

The proposed reduction of the duties will enable the department to dispense with the greater part of that host of custom-house officers which almost darken our coast; and in this item alone several hundred thousand dollars may be annually saved. Upon the whole, sir, I am well satisfied that the amount of revenue which this bill will produce, with that derived from other sources, will be amply sufficient for all the exigencies of the country, and that considering it as a mere revenue measure, no one can justly take an exception to it.

I will here remark, sir, that the people of the south, (whether correctly or not, I will hereafter consider,) are firmly impressed with the belief, that under any system of duties, while the revenue is derived almost exclusively from imports, their proportion of the burthens imposed by federal taxation, will be much greater than it ought to be according to the principle of the constitution which regulates the apportionment of direct taxes. Under these circumstances, they think they have a right to insist that the aggregate burthen of taxation shall be as light as possible, and that not a dollar shall be expended by the Government that can be avoided by a rigid economy.

Having now disposed of these preliminary questions, I shall proceed to consider how far the provisions of this bill have been dictated by a due regard to the principles of justice and equality in the fiscal operations of this Government.

With the exception of certain articles admitted free of duty, nearly all of which are the imports and consumption of the northern States, all imported merchandise will be subjected to the moderate and equal duty of 12½ per cent. Now, sir, I desire to know whether any objection can be justly urged against this scheme, on the score of inequality? Regarding it as a southern measure, can any other portion of the Union allege, with the semblance of truth, that it will be subjected to an undue share of the public burthens? I put the question emphatically, and desire that it may be fairly met and fully answered, is there a manufacturing State, or a manufacturing county in the Union, that will be compelled to pay a larger proportion of public burthens, by this bill, than justly and equitably falls to its share?

Let us examine this matter. Our imports of foreign merchandise may be divided into two great classes. The first consists of articles which are exclusively produced in *FOREIGN* countries; the second of articles partly produced abroad, and partly in the United States.—The former are usually denominated the unprotected, and the latter the protected class of articles. Now, as the former class comprising teas, coffee, silks, wines, and a variety of other imports, I will assume, that from these, one half of the federal revenue will be collected, though, in point of fact, it would be more correct to say one third only.

As to this portion of the revenue, no one has ever pretended that the burthen is not equally distributed over the Union in proportion to the consumption of the articles from which it is derived. It must be apparent that the manufacturing States have no grounds for alleging that the duties upon silks, wines, tea, and coffee, expose them to an unequal or oppressive burthen. Will a solitary voice be raised to denounce this part of the bill under consideration? Assuredly there will not. What, then remains? What is the subject of complaint against this bill, and who are they by whom the complaint is made? The part of the bill which is obnoxious to the denunciation of the manufacturing States, is that which imposes a duty of 12½ per cent, and no more, on cotton and woollen manufactures, on iron and iron manufactures, and on all the other articles that fall within the scope of the protecting system. Yes, sir, this is the source of the complaints against the proposed measure. And who, do you suppose, are the persons that make them.

If an impartial foreigner, just arrived in our country, should be informed that a very deep and threatening excitement existed in relation to this part of the proposed tariff, he would very naturally suppose, that, as the excitement was against a tax bill, it was the indignation of those who were called upon to pay the taxes, or upon whose productions the duties were proposed to be levied. Upon being informed that the productions of the southern States furnished the exchanges for this class of imports, he would take it for granted that these States were clamorous against so unequal a scheme of taxation. But how would this impartial foreigner be astonished, on discovering that the excitement was confined to that part of the Union which paid no part of the taxes in question; and the cause of the excitement was, that the taxes proposed were not forty or fifty, instead of 12½ per cent. upon the value of the imports!! In other words, how great would be the astonishment of this impartial "looker—on" from Europe, when he learned that the complaint against the proposed duty on cotton, woollen, and other manufactures, proceed exclusively from the domestic manufacturers of these very articles, on whom the duty would operate, not as a burthen, but as a bounty. He would be apt to exclaim, "What an extraordinary people the Americans must be! In Europe governments are shaken by the complaints of the people who pay the taxes. Here, the Union seems likely to be shaken to its very foundation, by the clamors of those who receive them. In Europe, the people cry out that the taxes are too high; here, they seem to be regarded as a great blessing, and the cry is, that they are about to be reduced too low."

Sir, in the spirit of peace and harmony, and, I will add, in the spirit of magnanimity, the people of the south now say to you "We know that it is very unequal and oppressive upon us, that the production of *our* industry should pay even 12½ per cent. to support the government, while the very same productions of *your* industry pay no contribution at all; but receive on the contrary, a beneficial bounty from the tax levied upon our productions. But if you will limit the burthen to the necessary expenses of the Government, we are willing to submit to it as a revenue measure, unequal as it obviously is, and will cheerfully consider the pecuniary loss we shall sustain as a peace offering at the shrine of the Union." And what do the people of the north say to this generous & liberal overture?

"We will not accede to your terms. We have 'calculated the value of' this tax upon your productions; and we have ascertained that a tribute of 12½ per cent. is not enough to keep up our establishments in the high state of profit and prosperity which we desire. We cannot let you off with a less tribute than 45 per ct., and it follows that you will have to pay it."

Sir, language cannot convey, nor imagination conceive any thing that would exhibit the horrible enormity of this system more clearly than this simple statement of the real condition of the interests involved, and the true point of the controversy. Now, sir, I will put this matter to a very plain test. If my views are not correct, the whole tariff question can be soon settled between the gentleman immediately on my right, (Mr. Appleton,) who, as I understand, is one of the largest manufacturers in the United States, and myself. I turn to this gentleman, then, and say to him, "Sir, I will now make a bargain with you for the adjustment of this difficulty. You admit that one half of this bill is perfectly just and equal; that I mean which levies half of the federal revenue from wines, silks, and other unprotected articles. The entire [illegible] of your manufactures [illegible] other half of the bill; that which levies the remaining half of the revenue from protected articles. Now, sir, in tender consideration of the oppressive operation of this part of the tax bill upon the manufacturing States, I will agree to strike it out altogether, and raise the remaining half of the revenue, by doubling the duties on unprotected articles, or by direct taxes. Is it a bargain, sir?" "No! not at all" replies the gentleman, "that would be infinitely worse than the bill as it now stands; for, in that case, the tariff States would lose *all* their protection, and have to pay their quota of the increased duties on unprotected articles, or of the direct taxes besides; whereas, by the bill in its present form, they certainly have a protecting bounty of 12½ per cent."

The truth is, Mr. Chairman, that the manufacturing States would not agree to strike out these duties on any terms. Even if it were demonstrated that the Government did not need a dollar of the revenue derived from this source, or if the southern States would agree to raise this half of the public revenue by direct taxation among themselves, still the manufacturing States would not accede to such a proposition.

And what, sir—I ask for no idle purpose—does this fact prove?

The plain and naked question is presented to them—will you be satisfied to adjust this controversy by being relieved entirely from one half of the burthen of the federal revenue, paying only your due proposition of the other half; and they, indignantly spurning the offer, reply that they will not.

Can any power of human reasoning more clearly demonstrate that they feel, and know that they will pay no part of the duties proposed to be levied on the entire class of protected articles? The matter is absolutely too plain for argument, and it comes palpably to this: the people of the south, charged with disloyalty to the Union, agree that a tribute of 12½ per cent. should be levied upon their productions, for the double purpose of relieving the manufacturers from so much taxation, and giving them so much bounty; while the Union-loving people of the north are resolved to put the Union itself in imminent jeopardy, unless their brethern of the south will reduce themselves to absolute vassalage, by consenting to bring to the mercenary altar of this manufacturing idol three times the proposed amount of the tribute.

It must be obvious, sir, that vital as are the pecuniary interests involved in this controversy, they are quite secondary when compared with the principles involved in it.

Its true character and importance cannot be seen until we consider it, not only as a question of interest, but as a question of right and justice. It is justice and not interest that consecrates the struggles of men and of nations. It will not do, therefore, to show me, however clearly, that the passage of this bill will destroy your interests and desolate your country, as the existing system has destroyed and desolated mine. I am not now considering your interests, but your rights; I am not going to try this question by the barbarian test of power and numbers, but by the principles of eternal justice.

And in this sacred forum, I put these questions to every manufacturer in the Union; What injustice will this bill inflict upon you? What right of yours will it violate? What particle of your property will it confiscate, and to whom will it unlawfully or wrongfully transfer it? I beg, sir, that these questions may not be evaded by empty and unmeaning generalities, but that they will be openly and fairly met, and distinctly answered. I admit, sir, that this bill, should it pass, will do very great damage to the manufacturing States, but it will be, in legal phraseology, damage without injury, unless they will show that some legal or moral right will be violated.

Let us now inquire whether there is a shadow of ground for alleging that such is the fact; and, to give the inquiry a practical form, I will first ask, *in what mode and by what process*, will the northern manufacturers be injured by the passage of this bill? They are ready to inform us, in reply, as we have heard it a thousand times echoed and re-echoed from every source, in every form and in every quarter of the Union, that they are waging a great national contest in favor of *domestic industry* and against *foreign industry*, and it is gravely contended that every patriot is bound, upon his allegiance, to take sides with the domestic against the foreign belligerent.

Now, sir, as this idea of a contest between domestic and foreign industry is the lurking fallacy which lies at the very foundation of the American system, I solicit the calm and dispassionate attention of the committee to a plain and practical analysis, by which I think it will be clearly demonstrated, that, in this as in other instances, men and nations have been carried away by mere names, and been prejudiced by what is to be overwhelmed by one of the most flagrant impositions that [illegible] ever [illegible] upon the credulity of mankind. [illegible] anti-[illegible], an anti-[illegible], an anti-[illegible] an eminent jurist of [illegible] opinion, that every [illegible] tain religious [illegible] the established [illegible] in law as an alien [illegible]. Let us look, then, [illegible] each by which [illegible] foreign industry, as [illegible] by [illegible] of foreign manufactures [illegible] away, with irresistible [illegible] domestic establishments, leaving the land desolate, without a vestige or memorial of its present prosperity!!

Let us ascertain the [illegible] springs of action—let us trace out [illegible] in its details, and see what are the means by which this scourging flood of foreign manufactures will [illegible] into our happy country. And now, sir, mark by "hook or by crook" this fondly cherished object will be accomplished. Ministers, Congress and will hasten the whole control [illegible] truth of the proposition, that foreign manufactures never can come into [illegible] and be brought into competition with domestic manufactures, until they have ceased to be the productions of foreign industry, and have become the productions of American industry. It is in the very nature of things, morally, commercially, and politically impossible that they should.

According to my poor powers of analysis, there are but three modes in which foreign manufactures can be brought into this country for consumption. The first is, by gratuitous donation; the second, by robbery and plunder; and the third, by purchase. The wit of man can scarcely devise any other mode. Now, sir, as to voluntary and gratuitous donations from foreign Governments or foreign manufacturers, I admit that this would be the most fatal of all the modes of importation to the interest of the domestic manufacturer. It would absolutely destroy the entire value of all their investments in buildings and machinery, and they would doubtless preach us most eloquent and moving sermons to prove that it would be utterly ruinous to the wealth of the county to obtain manufactures for nothing.

But the manufacturers are perfectly secure from any danger on this score. The time will never arrive when missionary zeal will [illegible] from religion to commerce, and when the duty or the philanthropy of foreign manufacturers will induce them to [illegible] our land with their goods by this process.

Then, sir, we have too much confidence in the patriotism, to say nothing of the honor and integrity of this Government, to suppose that its powers can ever be prostituted to rapine and plunder, the only mode of introducing foreign manufactures, which deserves to be gravely considered is that by purchase.

Here, then, we come to the real point of the controversy. When foreign manufactures are purchased and brought into the United States for consumption, they must be so purchased with the productions of the domestic industry of the United States. It is obvious, therefore, that there can be no possible conflict between foreign and domestic industry in our own markets, however it may be in foreign markets; but that the real contest is between one branch of domestic industry and another. In the case we are considering, it is a contest between the domestic producer of the article which is exchanged for the foreign manufacture, and the domestic manufacturer.

If, for example, the cotton planter of the south send his cotton to Liverpool, exchange it for manufactures, and bring them into the United States, I beg to know whether they would not be, to all intents and purposes, as truly and exclusively the productions of domestic industry, as they would be sacredly and exclusively the property of the planter? If he had a lawful title to his cotton, he must have the very same title to the manufactures he has obtained for it. If the former was exclusively the production of his industry, so, also, must the latter be, precisely in the same sense and to the same extent. It results, self-evidently, from the reciprocity of commerce, being an exchange of equivalents, that each nation receives as much encouragement to its own industry as it gives to the industry of any other. When a planter exchanges his cotton for foreign manufactures, these manufactures become the productions of domestic industry by the same act which makes them his property, and the cotton, in like manner, becomes the production of foreign industry. It is, as if the planter were gifted with the power of necromancy, and could transmute his cotton into manufactures by the mere touch of his wand. In this case, no doubt, the planter would be denounced for dealing with the devil, precisely for the same reason that he is now denounced and proscribed for dealing with England; and that is, because manufactures could be cheaply obtained and sold by the laws of

the much cheaper than they could be obtained and sold by the labor of the north.

Mr. Chairman, some ten or twenty years hence it will be a subject of astonishment that it ever had been necessary to labor so plain a proposition, as the one I am urging, in the American Congress, and yet, the cardinal measure of American policy, deeply affecting the vital interests of the country and the fundamental principles of the Government, is founded on the denial of it. For, admit the proposition, and the whole protecting system is left a baseless fabric, & topples into ruins.

If there were no such products in the United States as cotton, tobacco, or rice, would not the protecting system be downright nonsense—a mere impotent monument of human folly? How could the people of the United States obtain foreign manufactures, when they have nothing wherewith to pay for them? and what could be more absurd and stupid than to prohibit the importation of articles which could not possibly be imported, even if there were no prohibition?

If these views are not radically erroneous, we have now a distinct view of the real parties to this contest. They are not the foreign manufacturers and the domestic manufacturers, (for these can come in conflict only in foreign markets,) but they are the *planters of the south, and the manufacturers of the north.*

To all the purposes of this argument I am as truly a manufacturer of cotton and woollen goods as the gentleman from Massachusetts, who sits by my side. It is true, I do not manufacture them by the same process, but it is one equally as lawful, decidedly cheaper, and certainly not less honest. I cultivate the earth, and convert its products into manufactures, by exchange, while the gentleman from Massachusetts accomplishes the same object by turning spindles and throwing shuttles.

The only material difference between the two operations, is, that mine adds most to the wealth of the nation, precisely in the degree that I can sell my manufactures cheaper than he can sell his. But he has had the art to persuade the Government that this circumstance, which should make me the favored producer, is a reason why I should be heavily taxed with a view to exclude my cheap productions from the market, and give a preference to his, at higher prices.

I will now state a plain case, by way of practical illustration, which I never have known to be presented to a popular audience without producing the most perfect conviction, that the protecting duties are oppressive and unequal taxes upon the productions of the planters, imposed for the purpose of giving bounties to the manufacturers.

Let us suppose, then, that the gentleman from Massachusetts, a gentleman from Rhode Island, had formed a manufacturing co-partnership for the purpose of making and vending cotton and woollen manufactures. Let it be also supposed that the gentleman from Virginia, before me, (Mr. Archer,) the gentleman from Georgia, (Mr. Wayne,) and myself, had formed a planting copartnership for the purpose of rearing tobacco, rice, & cotton; and thus in order to save the expense of numerous commercial agents, we had determined to ship our agricultural staples to Liverpool, under the charge of a supercargo, to be exchanged for cotton and woollen manufactures, which were to be brought into the United States, and sold for the benefit of the co-partnership. It shall be assumed that the planting company annually send to Liverpool, cotton, tobacco, and rice, to the amount of $50,000, and convert them into cotton and woollen manufactures, and that the manufacturing company produce annually the same quantity and quality of cotton & woollen manufactures. Both these companies bring their respective goods into the markets of Richmond, Charleston, and Savannah, with a view to make sale of them. They are, in every sense, competitors in the very same markets for the sale of the very same sort of manufactures.

It will not be denied that the planting company have as sacred a title to their manufactures, as the manufacturing company can possibly have to theirs. Nor can it be denied that the manufactures of the planting company are as exclusively the productions of domestic industry as those of their rivals. There is not a single fibre in the whole mass that is not the production of American industry. Here, then, are two American companies, each having productions of their own industry to the amount of $50,000, equally entitled to the protection of the Government, and equally liable to be taxed for its support. Indeed, if either could be considered as entitled to favor, it would be the goods of the planting company. First, because they could be sold cheaper, and would thus add more to the wealth of the nation; and, secondly, because the planting company would be in their own peculiar markets.

Yet, how would these two companies be respectively treated, when they should come to the southren custom houses with their respective productions? The manufacturing company would be permitted to pass into the markets of Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia, with their northern productions, without any trouble or expense, let, or hindrance, whatever. But, the planting company, (the gentleman from Virginia, the gentleman from Georgia, and myself,) would be arrested in their progress by the collectors, who would inform them, I doubt not, with ceremonious courtesy, "that they could not be permitted to enjoy the very valuable privilege of bringing their own productions into their own markets—a privilege for which they were entirely indebted to the paternal indulgence of the Federal Government, without paying a duty (I will suppose) of forty per cent.

The whole of the duty would amount to the enormous sum of twenty thousand dollars. As the goods of the manufacturing company would have just passed in free of all duty, the rival company of planters would very naturally ask the cause of this odious discrimination, and particularly, why they were required to pay forty per cent. when less than half that duty would supply an ample revenue to the Government? The collectors would, no doubt, reply, in the true spirit of their vocation, "you are mistaken, gentlemen, if you suppose these high duties are levied upon your productions merely for the sake of revenue. This is quite a secondary consideration. The great and patriotic ground upon which they are levied, is, that it is deemed quite injurious to the wealth and prosperity of the free States of the north, that you should undersell their manufacturers, even in your own markets, with the productions of your own industry; and these duties are therefore levied, by a provident and paternal Government, for the very purpose of excluding your productions, which would be ruinously cheap without the duties, in order that your more patriotic rivals may increase the national wealth, and 'provide for the common defence,' by selling the same sort of goods at much higher prices!!"

Suppressing, for a moment, the indignant feelings which this characteristic colloquy is calculated to excite, by the bare imagination of it, I will command patience to go through with the illustration, and suppose that the company of planters submit to the outrage, both of the law and the commentary, and pay the twenty thousand dollars demanded as a tribute—what will be the respective conditions of the two companies, when they come with their respective productions into the southern market? Their relative conditions may be briefly stated. And mark the result which follows with a mathematical certainty, which no ingenuity can evade or deny. Both of the companies offering goods in the same common markets, will, as a matter of course, obtain the very same price for them. It follows as a corollary, that the planting company will realize from the productions of their honest and lawful industry, in their own peculiar markets, twenty thousand dollars less than the manufacturing company will receive for the same quantity of their productions, of the same quantity!! And this inequality, Sir, is produced exclusively by the unrighteous and oppressive interference of this Government, claiming for this very outrage upon the principles of eternal justice, the sacred title of a protecting and paternal Government! Can any man deny this? Will any man, admitting it, dare to stand up and justify or defend it.

If, Sir, I have been successful in proving that the imported manufactures obtained in exchange for the staple productions of the southern States, are the exclusive productions of the industry of these States, another obvious illustration presents itself to elucidate the palpable injustice of this system.

Let it be supposed that the people of the south made these goods by the use of machinery, in the same manner as they are made at the north, would they have a title to them any more sacred than they now have to the imports acquired by purchase? This will hardly be pretended. Would they not be as lawful a subject of taxation as our imports are now? Would you not have precisely the same right to contend that free manufacturing labor, at a dollar a day, could not compete with slave labor at one-fourth of the price, and, upon this ground, claim a protecting and discriminating excise duty of forty or fifty per cent.? There is not an iota of difference in the two cases, except in the *mode* of producing the southern manufacture, and the *name* of the duty levied upon it.

How, then, would stand the comparison? A duty of 40 or 50 per cent. would be imposed upon the productions of the S. while those of the N. produced in the very same mode, would be absolutely exempted from all duty. I put it to the candor of this com't. whether, if this were the form in which these discriminating duties of protection were levied, there could be found a freeman upon the face of the earth who would not cry out "cravens! dastards! base and degenerate slaves!" to the people who would patiently submit to such a system? Sir, this scheme of artfully disguised oppression would not have been born for two years, if it had been originally presented without the disguise, by which its true character and operations are concealed from its suffering victims.

Is there any error in this mode of stating the nature of this unjust and oppressive system? Am I laboring under some strange delusion? If I am, I sincerely hope some gentleman will be able to disenchant me. But, if I have any reasoning faculties at all, a discriminating excise duty, levied exclusively upon the manufactures of the south, exempting those of the north entirely, would, in no solitary respect, be more injurious or oppressive to the southern producers, than the existing system of protecting duties is to the southern planters.

There is another aspect in which the gross inequality of this system has been frequently presented, which carries, to my mind, the force and clearness of mathematical demonstration. No one would deny the monstrous and revolting inequality and injustice of the system, if more than one half of the federal revenue were directly and palpably raised by export duties on cotton and rice, the exclusive productions of much less than one fifth part of the federal population; and it is a fact incontestibly verified by the annual statements from the treasury, that this proportion of the revenue is raised by protecting duties levied upon the very manufactures for which our cotton and rice are exchanged abroad.

Upon this state of facts, it is maintained that an import duty, *actually levied* upon the goods received for our cotton and rice, is precisely equivalent, as it regards the planters, to an export duty levied upon the cotton and rice themselves. It will be at once perceived that this question is conclusively settled by a proposition already discussed and established; for, if the manufactures received for cotton and rice are as truly the productions of the planters as the cotton and rice itself, it is obviously immaterial to them whether the duties are levied on the productions of their industry, when they exist in the form of cotton and rice, or after they have been transmuted, by exchange, into manufactures. The case has been often stated, of two cotton planters going to Liverpool to exchange their cotton for such manufactures as are *actually imported* in exchange for cotton. Each, for example take an adventure worth ten thousand, but one of one of them gives his bond for four thousand dollars, to secure the payment of a 40 per cent. export duty, as he goes out, and the other gives his bond for the same amount, to secure the payment of a 40 per cent. import duty, as he comes back. Now, it is self evident, that each will receive the same quantity of manufactures in Liverpool for his cotton, each will have the same amount of duties to pay to the Government, and each will obtain the same price for his manufactures in the United States. They come out precisely even, with the immaterial exception, that, if the voyage consumed two or three months the export duty bond would, of course, fall due that much earlier than the other. I defy the ingenuity of man to make out any other difference in the two cases, let them be twisted and turned as they may. Now, it certainly requires no great powers of combination to perceive, that what would be true, in this respect, of the two cotton planters with cargoes worth twenty thousand dollars, would be equally true of all the cotton planters of the Union, with cargoes worth thirty millions. But it has been said, by a very respectable authority that this argument cannot be true, because the cotton planter may sell his cotton in Europe, and consume the proceeds there, bringing nothing back in return. This is readily admitted. I have never alleged any thing so absurd as that an export duty, which is paid, is not a greater burthen to the planter than an import duty, which is not paid. My very proposition assumes however what is true in point of fact, that protected articles *are* imported in exchange for cotton, and that protecting duties are actually paid upon them. If you dispute the fact, I refer you to the treasury statements; if you dispute the reference, I refer you to the common arithmetic.

I am aware, that, in answer to these views, which assume that the manufactures imported in exchange for agricultural staples are really the productions of the planters, and that, consequently, an import duty upon the one is equivalent to an import duty on the other, it is frequently replied that this would be all very true, and quite indisputable, if the planters really did, in point of fact, carry their staples abroad, and exchange them for manufactures. But it is said, with as much solemn gravity as if it had any thing to do with the question, that this is not the real course of trade; that the planters do not export their cotton, tobacco, and rice to foreign markets, and obtain manufactures for them, but that they sell them to the exporting merchants, who sell bills on Europe to the importing merchants, who purchase the manufactures with these bills, and sell them to the retail merchants, who purchase the manufactures with these bills, and sell to the retail merchants, who finally sell them to the consumers.

Now, this is a very fair specimen of that sort of rigmarole by which a conjuror puts the spectators off their guard, when he is about to shuffle his balls and practice a deception on their senses. In the name of all that is rational, what difference does it make, as to the matter in discussion, whether the planters are the exporters of their own staples, and the importers of the manufactures received for them, or whether these operations are performed by the agency of other persons If the import duties would throw a burthen upon them, as producers, in the one case, it must equally do so in the other. There is surely no legerdemain in having their exchanges effected by the interposition of two or three seperate sets of agents by which the planters can conjure off the burthen which all admit they would have to bear, if they had effected these exchanges themselves. The complexity of the process, like the juggling of the conjurer; the shifting of the balls; may bewilder and deceive the understanding of the planters but they cannot possibly diminish their burthens.

Let this process be analyzed, and the mystery will vanish. It is agreed, then, that if the planters made their own exchanges abroad, the manufactures they obtained for their staples would be their own productions, and that an import duty had been laid upon their cotton, tobacco, or rice.

Now, watch close the process by which these exchanges are actually effected, and see if you can discover how the planters get relieved from their burthens, as producers. The first step in this complicated process, is a sale to the exporting merchants for money. Here keep a close look out, for we have reached the point upon which the whole controversy turns. Examine & see whether the planters obtain any more money for their staples than they could have realized for them by sending them to Europe on their own account, and making the exchange themselves. If they do not it is conclusive proof that they evade no portion of the burthen by selling here for cash, in place of selling in Europe for manufactures. If they do, then the exporting merchant has been guilty of the singular folly of giving the planters just so much more for their staples than they are worth, an imputation to which no one will suppose him to be liable.

The truth is that the exporting merchants cannot and will not give the planters a farthing more for their staples than the planters could have themselves made out of them, by going through the whole process of the exchange. In a word, the value of cotton is the value of the foreign manufactures it will purchase. These are, strictly speaking, equivalent values, and convertible terms? In whatever degree, therefore, an import duty upon these manufactures will diminish their exchangeable value, in the staples of exportation with which they are, in point of fact, purchased.

The controversy, then, disguise it as you may, resolves itself into a competition between the southern planters and the northern manufacturers, for supplying the markets of the United States with certain descriptions of manufactures. And I take it to be the very clearest of all propositions in political economy, that the protecting duties must, in the very nature of things inflict an injury upon the southern planters at least equal to the benefit they confer upon the northern manufacturers. In truth the injury inflicted in the one case, must be greater than the benefit conferred in the other. The very ground upon which the protecting duties are demanded, is, that that the cotton planters can import and sell manufactures cheaper than the domestic manufacturers can make and sell them. So far, therefore, as these duties operate as a protection, they take away the employment of a more productive class, and give it to one that is the less productive. If, with a protection of forty per cent. the manufacturers can only make their ordinary profits, and if the planters can maintain the competition even under this enormous discriminating duty, it is evident that with mere revenue duties of 12½ per cent., the planters could sell at much lower prices than the manufacturers, and at the same time realize much higher profits.

It follows, that the benefit which protecting restrictions can confer upon the domestic manufacturers may be much less, but cannot possibly be greater than the injury inflicted on their rivals, the southern planters. When I advanced these opinions on this floor more than two years ago, they were supposed by many to involve a novel and visionary theory, which had not been put forth by any book of authority. But it is a curious fact, tending to illustrate the cotemporaneous development of these views in this country and in England, that almost at the very time they were first publicly advanced here, they were published there by two authors, who may be justly regarded as ornaments to this branch of political philosophy. Professor Senior, of Oxford, in a course of lectures on political economy, published in 1830, distinctly lays it down, "that it is impossible to encourage the industry of one class of producers, by means of commercial restrictions without discouraging to an equal degree, the exertions of others That every prohibition of importations is a prohibition of *EXPORTATIONS.* That every restriction on the importation of French silks is a restriction on the exportation of those articles with which those silks would have been purchased. That if it benefit the English silk manufacturer, it injures, to at least an equal amount, in the whole, though the injury is less perceptible, because more widely diffused, the cotton spinner, the cutler, or the clother." Again: "A restriction or prohibition of the importation of any foreign commodity, *occasions a loss to those persons who would have produced the English commodity with which the excluded foreign commodity would have been purchased;* it occasions, also, a loss to those who are forced to purchase the dearer or inferior English commodity."

I will now quote a few passages from an article in the Westminster Review for 1830; an article in which the doctrines I am maintaining are illustrated by a combination of wit and philosophy very rarely united in the discussion of so abstruse a subject.

"Gloves may be had, it shall be supposed, from a French maker, for the value of two shillings a pair. An Englishman stands up, and says that he can make gloves of the same kind for three shillings and, therefore, for the encouragement of English commerce, it is expedient to pass a law to prohibit the introduction of french gloves at two shillings, in order that those who chose to wear gloves may be obliged to take them from the Englishman at three." "When you buy a pair of french gloves, it is clear they are paid for in something." "They are paid for, to the Frenchman, it may be, in Sheffield goods.

But if the glove maker procures a law that gloves shall not be brought from France. it is plain that Sheffield goods must stop. The glove maker may gain employment, and trade, to the amount of two shillings, *but it is equally plain that that the Sheffield man must lose it.*" "The whole amounts to a plan for robbing a Sheffield man or a Birmingham, who can make what people will voluntarily buy, for the benefit of the glover who cannot;—for clipping the commerce of some individual who has ingenuity and skill enough to command a market, to add to him who is without."

Here, it will be seen, that the author distinctly assumes, that the principle injury produced by a restrictive law, is to those domestic producers "who would have produced the English commodity with which the foreign commodity would have been purchased," while the injury to the consumer is comparatively small.

I will now read a short extract, which admirably ridicules that bewildering confusion of ideas which induces many to believe that there is some magic in a foreign exchange, which relieves the domestic producer from the burthen of a protective duty or restriction.

"If a saving is to be made by the introduction of steam coaches, no effectual opposition can be made by the dealers in horses, because the public are sufficiently informed to know that all they expend less in coach hire, will be expended upon something else instead; and, therefore, the loss of business to horse dealers will be balanced by an increase of business, of exactly the same amount, to somebody and somewhere, and they (the public) will gain the difference besides. They have a perfect comprehension, that, to put down steam coaches by act of Parliament, would only be enacting that a quantity of employment and profit should be taken from certain dealers, for the sake of giving to horse-dealers the same quantity of employment and profits *and no more*, with a further addition of the loss to the coach-riding public of the whole difference of coach-hire besides. They see, distinctly, that to propose such a thing would be as great an absurdity and injustice as to propose to enact that a carrier should not grease his wheels for the sake of causing a greater quantity of horse flesh to be charged to his customers. They are aware that such a piece of legislative dullness as this, would amount to setting up the principle that it was for the interest of every body that every thing should be done in the most bungling and roundabout way possible; and that any pretence to increase national wealth by such processes, must be foolery, or worse. All this they know, so long as none of the parties propose to operate by the intervention of an exchange abroad. But let a single exchange intervene, and the question is too much for them. If the machine in which men are to ride for two shillings instead of three, can only be bought with Sheffield cultery from France, they are utterly unable to see that the national profit of steam-riding, the ultimate advantage of *employing an English cutler to affect the production of the cheap machine*, instead of an English horse dealer to supply the dear one, is the same as ever. In this case, they are ready to join the horse-dealer in begging, first, that the employment may be taken from Sheffield cutlers; secondly, that it may be taken from the persons employed in the expenditure of the two shillings of which it is proposed to rob the coach-riding public; and thirdly, that they the public, may be robbed of a shilling in their coach-riding, without any advantage, in the aggregate, to any body. They can see that it would be absurd to put down the *omnibus* upon the ground that men ride cheaper in it; but they cannot see that if the omnibus could only be got from France in exchange for Sheffield goods, the case would be unaltered. Was it rightly said, that John Bull is a man of one idea or at most of two? And is there any reason why he should encourage himself in being a fool for the benefit of those who pat him on the back that they may pick his pocket?"

Thus, you, will perceive, sir, so far from regarding the consumers as the only persons affected by restrictive laws, the very doctrine for which I am contending is clearly and distinctly affirmed. It is only necessary to substitute southern cotton for Sheffield cutlery, and northern manufactures for English horse dealers, and the argument of the author becomes identical with my own.

Nothing even in the mathematical science, is more certain than that legislation can exercise no *creative power* in the way of producing wealth. No legislator has yet discovered the philosopher's stone, and magic is not one of the powers conferred by the constitution. Hard work, patient labor—these are the only agents under Providence, by which wealth can be created. All the legislation in the world cannot add a blade of grass or a grain of wheat to the national wealth, except, by securing every one in the enjoyment of his property, and thereby stimulating his exertions. But though legislation is impotent to create wealth, it is omnipotent to transfer it. While, therefore, it is the feeblest of all producers, it is the most powerful of all plunderers. And whenever restrictions or taxes confer wealth and prosperity upon one portion of the Union, it necessarily follows than an equal or greater amount of wealth and prosperity must be taken from some other portion.

What have we been told by the advocates of the protecting system on this floor and elsewhere? Why that if we repeal, or materially reduce the protecting duties, you sweep, with the besom of destruction, the entire face of the manufacturing States, and leave that whole region a scene of desolation. Sir, is this so? Is it true *that the reductions of the burthens of taxation* will desolate a portion of the States of this confederacy? If it be so, how eloquently, how irresistably, does it demonstrate the proposition for which I am contending, and how plainly does it fix the seal of condemnation upon that system of plunder against which I am now raising my voice? What, sir! The reduction of the taxes spread desolation? Was the like ever heard before? How will this desolation be produced? It is utterly impossible—remember, sir, I bar necromancy—that the repeal or the reduction of taxes can desolate one portion of the country, unless it be true that they are drawn from the industry of another portion, and transferred by legislative injustice to the favored region of protection. While, therefore, gentlemen are eloquently prefiguring their own desolation, which is to result from restoring to my constituents only a part of their long lost rights, they do nothing more than draw a picture of the desolation which the protecting system has already produced throughout the southern Atlantic States.

I, therefore, solemnly invoke you, by the principles of justice, the ties of honor and patriotism, the [illegible] constitution, and by all the sanctities of life, not to uphold any longer [illegible] system of injustice and [illegible].

Sir, I put it to the candor, the [illegible], and the prudence of gentlemen, if [illegible] time for them to pause in their [illegible]? The question presents itself in a [illegible] way, which the dullest most comprehend, and no one, who is not voluntarily blind, can fail to perceive that the southern States are sinking under a weight of oppression that no free people on earth has ever endured so long.

The injury to the south, by the continuance of the protective system, cannot be less than the damage which will be produced to the manufacturing interest of the north by the repeal of that system. Or, to state the proposition in a different form, the benefit which the northern manufacturers derive from having high duties and restrictions imposed upon the productions and exchanges of the southern planters, cannot possibly be greater than the benefits which the planters would derive from the repeal of those duties and restrictions. Now, the benefit which the manufacturers receive from this system may be measured by the damage they will sustain by the repeal of it: and if we are to place any reliance on their statements, they will be great and overwhelming, then, would be the title of prosperity which would flow in and enrich the southern planters, if the barriers which impede their intercourse with their natural markets were removed, and their unalienable rights to the free use of the products of their industry were restored to them.

(To be Continued.)

ADDRESS.

OF THE

JACKSON & BARBOUR CONVENTION.

To the Citizens of North Carolina.

A Convention of Delegates, deputed by a number of counties to nominate Electors and concert other measures in relation to the approaching election of President and Vice President of the United States, has met at Raleigh, and discharged the duty to which it was called. In submitting to you the result, we ask leave to add a few explanatory remarks. We have agreed to nominate for President, the present occupant of that office, the venerable ANDREW JACKSON, and for Vice President PHILIP P. BARBOUR, of Virginia; and a ticket of Electors who will support these nominations will shortly be presented to you.

In regard to Andrew Jackson, It is unnecessary to say any thing. He has already been our President for more than three years, and whatever difference of opinion there may be as to some of the measures of his administration, none of us can forget the eminent services he has rendered to his country, and all of us confide in the integrity of his character, the purity of his motives, and his patriotic devotion to the common weal. At the crisis which is now impending, it is peculiarly important that he should be at the head of the government, and although not entirely identified with the feelings and sentiments of the great body of the Southern people, he coincides with them more nearly than any other individual we could now select. We take great pleasure, therefore, in recommending him to what we are confident he will receive, your unanimous support.

We should be highly gratified if we could persuade ourselves that the same unanimity would exist among the supporters of General Jackson, in the election of a Vice President. This we know to be impossible. Upon this subject differences irreconcileable in their nature, because they are differences upon some of the fundamental principles of our government, have manifested themselves in a manner not to be mistaken. We had reason to expect this diversity in those States which hold political doctrines directly adverse to ours. But we did not expect, and we feel peculiar mortification at perceiving attempts making in our own community, where we had an identity of interest, and hoped to find an identity of feeling, to sow dissentions among us upon a question vitally affecting a great principle of civil liberty, of constituttonal law, and of true devotoin to the Union. It is known to you that five gentlemen, professing to represent the wishes of North Carolina, have lately at a Convention of Mr. Van Buren's friends at Baltimore, undertaken to pledge the vote of this State for Martin Van Buren, of New York, as Vice President—for Martin Van Buren, one of the authors of the tariff law of 1828. We say a Convention of Mr. Van Buren's friends, because no one at all acquainted with the movements of party, or at all possessed of political sagacity, can doubt that the Convention was constituted for the purpose of promoting Mr. Van Buren's prospects, however a few of the members might have dissented from its real objects. By what process five persons, representing as many districts in this State, could multiply themselves into fifteen, and thereby, even if they truly represented the districts from which they came, undertake to answer for those with which they had no connection, we shall not stop to inquire. But, without intending in the slightest degree to impugn the patriotism of their motives, it is due to the respect entertained for them to advert to some of the reasons we have heard suggested in support of the nomination they assumed to make in the name of North Carolina.

It has been said that the members from this State in the Baltimore Convention preferred some candidate whose sentiments were opposed to the Tariff System, and that finding Mr. Van Buren had a majority, they reluctantly yielded their preference to the advocates of the Tariff; and that a perseverance in the support of Mr. Barbour would have hazarded the election of General Jackson. Now it is

...t a majority of these five delegates preferred Mr. Van Buren before all ... because, in the first instance, ... comparing opinions, nine votes ...te given for Mr. Van Buren, and but six for Mr. Barbour. But the Tariff States *must* be gratified in the selection of their candidate at the expense of our feelings and our interests! We ask emphatically *why*? We deny that the nomination of Mr. Barbour, a firm and disinterested friend of General Jackson, could have caused the slightest injury to the election of the latter. General Jackson stands upon his own merits. The qualities which recommend him are well known to you, are peculiar to himself, and not transferable to any candidate for another office. We firmly believe, if the sense of the supporters of General Jackson throughout the Union had been fairly represented, and if that Convention had met, not for the purpose of indulging their personal predilections, but of rallying upon principle, Mr. Barbour, or some other citizen opposed to Mr. Clay's "American System," would have been selected. In any event General Jackson is placed too far above the reach of competition to be affected by any difference of opinion as to the Vice Presidency. If he could be affected at all, injury is far more likely to occur from the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, whose principles are so obnoxious to the South, than from that of any other individual not possessing those principles.

It is said that the election of Vice President may be thrown upon the Senate. Such a result may happen if Mr. Van Buren's friends persist in his nomination against the known wishes of so large a proportion of General Jackson's supporters. But upon *them*, not upon *us*, will be the sin, if there be sin. If this catastrophe is to be deprecated, it may easily be averted by their withdrawing Mr. Van Buren's name, and voting for Mr. Barbour. But it is one argument in our favour, that if, in the chances arising from the contest for the Vice Presidency the election should devolve on the Senate, the candidate we propose will certainly receive a majority of their votes, while Mr. Van Buren will as certainly be defeated before that body, placed in competition with almost any person who has been named for the office.

It is partly insinuated in a public address we have seen, and has been more generally and confidently stated in private circles, that Mr. Van Buren's sentiments and feelings are in unison with those of the South. We would ask, where this trait in his character has been developed in his acts? We do not refer to, nor do we rely upon private declarations or assurances. We ask for his public acts. As far as we have been able to ascertain his political course, he was opposed to the South in the election of Mr. Madison as the successor of Mr. Monroe he was opposed to the South in the memorable Missouri question, in which was involved the right of Congress to interfere with our slave population—he was opposed to the South on the great Tariff question which came before the Senate in 1820, voting for the most obnoxious amendments, and finally for the bill itself, a bill which, by one of its own advocates, was styled the "bill of abominations"—he was opposed to a large majority of the South in the first election of General Jackson. It is true he has generally voted against appropriations for internal improvements; but he has voted for the power of Congress to establish toll-gates on a public road within the limits of a State, and we may therefore fairly infer that his opposition to internal improvements has not been founded upon any constitutional basis, but upon the consideration that the State he represented had completed its most important improvements by its own means, and needed not the aid of the General Government.

It has been said, too, (we do the author of the address to which we have adverted the justice to mention that it is not to be found there,) but it has been said that General Jackson prefers Mr. Van Buren for Vice President, and that we should be guided by his wishes in selecting that officer. We should feel deeply humiliated if any citizen of North Carolina had publicly offered to us such a motive to govern our decision. Are we Republicans, and are we to surrender our independence of thought and action, to sacrifice our principles in a most important election, to gratify the private wishes of any man? Are we to be told that in selecting our agents in the General Government, we are to yield implicit obedience to the Executive will? Highly as we venerate General Jackson, if he could occupying the station he does, attempt to influence our suffrages, we should, as honest and independent freemen—aye if there be a drop of the revolutionary blood of our fathers still coursing in our veins we should indignantly repel such interference. But, fellow citizens, though we know not General Jackson's private preferences, we know that he is incapable of urging them upon the people as a rule for their government in any election. Independent of our confidence in his republican principles, we know that when he came into office, he gave the most emphatic pledge that no Executive officer should exercise the influence of his station to control in any manner the freedom of elections by the people.

Lastly, it has been said, that our object is to defeat the election of General Jackson by dividing his party. We deny that we divide the party. That division is already made by the difference which prevails among the party on great and fundamental principles—a division which must affect the action upon every question but that of the election of General Jackson himself. In further answer to this charge, we appeal to the nomination we unanimously make of the very person whose election we are accused of wishing to defeat. We appeal to the course which it is known to you a large proportion of the supporters of Mr. Barbour have heretofore taken in relation to General Jackson. But we will not farther pursue this unpleasant discussion, nor will we dwell upon many objections which have been urged against Mr. Van Buren's political character. We turn to the more grateful part of our task, that of the offering in brief review the reasons which have governed us in the nomination of Mr. Barbour.

In purity of private life, in talents of a high order, in an open, candid and disinterested mind, in the absence of all selfish feeling, of all inordinate ambition and of all the petty arts to subserve personal purposes, in a long course of distinguished public service, we might find sufficient arguments for the preference of Mr. Barbour, if we chose to rest that preference upon mere personal pretensions. But we came not here to indulge our private predilections, and we desire to appeal in his behalf to higher motives than any of these can furnish. We ask you to support him because he is a candidate of the true political faith.

We believe that a crisis is approaching, nay, that it has already arrived, when the citizens of this state must take their stand—when they must let their voice be heard in favor of a consolidated General Government, restrained by no fixed rules, subject to no limits but their own discretion; or, as we fervently hope they will do, when they must speak in the determined tone of freemen—when they must proclaim that this Union, which we cherish with the fondest affection, is but a confederacy of sovereign States; that beyond the limits which have been prescribed in the Constitution by the assent of all, none can go; that neither a majority nor a minority has a right to transcend those limits; and that any act of our agents in the General Government however clothed with the forms of law which is not warranted by the great charter granted by the States, is purely void. We have no hesitation in saying that in our belief the Constitution has already been violated by Congress in their assumption of the power to regulate the industry and occupations of individuals by taxing one portion of the Union for the benefit of another—by adopting a protecting tariff, or as it is more specious ly, but falsely called, "the American System." Can we conceal from ourselves the fact that the most powerful exertions are now making to fasten this system on us as the permanent policy of the country! Is it not a duty which we owe to ourselves and our posterity, to our reverence for the liberty inherited from our fathers, to our deep attachment to the Union of these States, to resist encroachments on our rights by every means in our power? Should we not, more especially, on every occasion when we are called to the ballot box manifest our utter abhorrence of this system, and our determination to honor by our suffrages none who support it? With what consistency can we condemn a measure as unconstitutional and oppressive, and yet elevate to one of the highest offices in the country one of the authors of this measure, when another candidate for the same office is presented to our choice whose principles are our principles? We firmly believe that the political system, of which we have spoken strikes a fatal blow at our liberties—that it springs from a principle which, if acquiesced in, not only sets at naught all the safeguards provided by the Constitution, but will subject us to a despotism as galling and as pernicious to our interests as any that the wit of man could devise. What is the great principle of this system? It is that the General Government has the unlimited power of taxation—that the majority may lay taxes on you not only to defray the expenses of the government, (a power which all admit,) but also for the purpose of conveying a part of the profits made by one portion of the community into the pockets of another portion—of regulating the employment of capital and the pursuits of individuals, and of distributing as they may think proper the fruits of every man's industry—of saying, for example, to the planter, you shall be taxed fifty or a hundred per ct. or any other amount the majority shall prescribe, to enable the manufacturer to realize a profit from his investments—in short that the minority hold their property at will of the majority—and shall enjoy its fruits only to such extent as these may graciously permit. Can it be possible that such a principle is to be found in our Constitution! If it is, if your General Government has this power it is useless to enquire after any of those limitations in that instrument by which our fathers believed they had carefully guarded our liberties. It has all the power which the most despotic government could wish. If you are prepared to sanction such a construction of our bond of Union, you are no longer freemen.

What, on the other hand, are the great principles which lie at the foundation of all free government, and which must regulate their action? They are—equality of political rights—equality of benefits and burdens—that every citizen shall be *protected* in the enjoyment of his property, and of the fruits of his labor—protected not according to this tyrannical "American System," by making one section pay a part of its profits as a tribute to another; but *protected* so that every man may freely exchange, in the best market, what he produces, for what he has occasion to purchase—*protected* so that the burthens of government may fall equally on all—that none shall look for legislative aid to increase the profits of their peculiar occupations; but that all shall depend upon, and be entitled to enjoy what God, and nature, and their own industry and sagacity shall place in their power. We have not adverted to, nor shall we dilate upon the peculiar bearing of this Tariff System upon the southern States—upon the millions of which it has already stripped you—upon its disastrous and paralysing effects upon your industry and prosperity. If we admit the constitutionality of the system, the greater or less degree of exaction to which we are subjected must depend solely upon the discretion of the interested majority who govern us.

We have thus free communicated, in a rapid sketch, our sentiments upon a question which now agitates the country. We are impressed with a solemn conviction of its vital importance, and ask for it your most serious attention. We believe that upon a firm and united resistance to the system we have condemned depends the safety and permanence of that Union, to which we all cling with such sincere and patriotic devotion. Nay, more, we believe that upon this resistance depends the preservation of our liberty. Will you not, then, resist by every constitutional means, while these shall avail you? Will you, on the occasion which is soon to present itself in the choice of Vice President, give your suffrages to Mr. Van Buren, one of the authors and supporters of this destructive Tariff System, with whom we can have no community of sentiment? Or will you give some evidence of your determination not to submit, by bestowing your vote on Mr. Barbour, who has been an able defender of our rights, a faithful coadjutor in our cause; who is with us in opinion, in interest and in feeling?

Holding the tenets which we have professed, belonging to a political church which holds fast to that faith, we could not consistently advise you to select a heretic minister to assist at its altars. We know we offer you a true believer when we recommend PHILIP P BARBOUR, and we therefore present him to you for your suffrages.

JAMES IREDELL,
WALKER ANDERSON,
RICHARD DAVISON,
WILLIAM A BLOUNT,
EDWARD B. DUDLEY,
ISAAC CROOM,
JOSEPH R LLOYD,
SPENCR O'BRIEN,
WILLIS ALSTON,
EDWARD J. HALE,
} Committee.

FIAT JUSTITIA RUAT COELUM.

SALISBURY,

JULY 9, 1832.

FOR PRESIDENT
ANDREW JACKSON
OF TENNESSEE.

☞ The number of persons in the Jackson and Barbour meeting, the proceedings of which will be found below, has been variously estimated from 3 to 500.

STATE-RIGHT and ANTI-TARIFF MEETING.

According to previous notice, for holding a State-Right and anti-tariff meeting, a large and highly respectable number of the citizens of Rowan assembled in the C. H. on Wednesday the 4th inst., at about the hour of 2 o'clock The meeting was organised by calling O. FISHER, Esq. to the Chair, and by appointing Col. R. McNamara, Col. Saml. Lemly, Jas. Smith and Noah Partee, Esqrs., as assistant Chairmen. Hy. Giles and J. C. McConnaughey, Esqrs. acted as Secretaries.

After the objects of the meeting were explained, in a brief address from the Chair, the following Resolutions were offered by James E. Kerr, Esq.

Resolved, That this meeting still retain confidence in the integrity, and patriotism of ANDREW JACKSON, and will therefore support his re-election to the Presidency of the U. States.

Resolved, That we esteem PHILIP P BARBOUR of Virginia to be a man of talents, and of patriotism—a true Republican of the old school of '98—a friend to State-Right, and to *equal* rights—opposed to the Tariff, and in favor of the principles of Free-Trade, and as such we will support him for the next Vice Presidency.

Resolved, That this meeting choose three delegates to meet the Delegates of Davidson and Montgomery Counties at the "Healing Springs" on the first Saturday in August, for the purpose of nominating some fit and proper person as Elector, on the state-right Ticket, to vote for Jackson and Barbour.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Dr. John Scott, then offered the following Resolutions,

Whereas, a meeting of the friends of Martin Van Buren was held in the City of Baltimore on the 20th day of May last, styling themselves the "Republican Convention," who in imitation of the crowned heads of Europe in the partition of Poland, undertook to divide off among the different aspirants for office, the votes of the People of the several States,—in which division, they bestowed the greater part of north Carolina on their favorite *Martin Van Buren*.

And *whereas*, the voters of North Carolina are free men, having always been guided in their choice of President and Vice President, by *principle* and will continue to be influenced by the same motive, and no other.

Therefore Resolved, That as a part of the free men of North Carolina, we deny the right of any four men however respectable they may be to dictate to the people of the State who they are to support for Vice President.

Resolved further, That we deny that the meeting at Baltimore was composed of Delegates of the *Republican* party of the Union, or that they had any authority whatever to speak for that party. We believe that the convention at Baltimore was composed almost entirely of the friends of *Martin Van Buren*, and that the whole was got up as a piece of party machinery to accomplish the ambitious views of that aspiring politician.

Resolved, That we do not consider *Martin Van Buren* as the candidate of the Republican or Jackson party, and that as members of that party we will not support him for the Vice Presidency, among others, for the following reasons.

1st. *Because*, He possesses no feeling, or principles in common with the people of North Carolina, or the other Southern States.

2dly. *Because*, During the highly important contest of 1824 he not only opposed the election of Andrew Jackson, but was mainly instrumental in defeating the choice of the people, his immediate partizans joining in the most shameful abuses against Gen. Jackson, denouncing him as alike destitute of talents, and virtues. But, when he saw that the people were determined not to be cheated out of their choice, then he, and his deceitful partizans, turned around, and vied with each other in pretended zeal for the old Hero, plainly showing to all who will see, that their object was, and still is, *office*; for Martin Van Buren, is now held up as a candidate for the Vice Presidency, and his partizans have the presumption to call on the original Jackson men, and the republicans to support him.

Among those who are clamoring for his election, may be found some who are deserters from the ranks of Henry Clay, who like all mercenaries, serve best, when they are paid best, & who now are abusing many of the old, and well tried friends of Gen. Jackson merely because they are more honest than themselves.

3ly. *Because*, During the late war, professing to belong to the Republican party, he busied himself in getting up an opposition to the re-election of James Madison, thus endangering the existance of the party, and the success of the war.

4th. *Because* his course in the New York Legislature during the pendency of the Missouri question, or shortly after, proves what his opinions are on a question of vital importance to the South; a question which not only struck at the rights of the Southern people, but aimed a fatal blow at the rights of all the States.

5th *Because*, since his conversion to the Jackson party he has been a fire-brand among us; he has been the cause of creating dissentions among the party, of generating bad feelings among old and long tried friends, and almost of breaking up the party itself, and defeating the re-election of Gen. Jackson.

6th *Because*, He voted for the Tariff of 1828, a measure that taxes one part of the community for the benefit of another,—that *taxes* the Farmers and Planters of the South, and gives *bounties* to the manufacturers of the North;—A *measure*, that makes the people of the South "hewers of wood and drawers of water," to the monopolists of the North,—that is gradually empoverishing the planting States, and enriching the manufacturing States,—a measure that is *unequal* in all its operations, and therefore highly unjust,—so oppressive to the South that *it* cannot and will not be borne.

Viewing it in this light, we will not vote for the man, who is not only the avowed friend of this measure, but who was highly instrumental, in imposing it on us. We will not so far forget oppression on the South;—We have not so far lost the spirit of freemen, as to bestow honor on him who has heaped burdens on us.

For these and other reasons, we will not support *Martin Van Buren* for the Vice Presidency of the U. S and we will use all honorable means to prevent his election.

These resolutions were likewise unanimously adopted.

Col. McNamara, addressed the chair, and said that he felt a reluctance in troubling this large and respectable meeting with any further matter, but he was convinced that the present is an important crisis in the affairs of the nation, and that every proper means should be adopted to awaken the attention of the people to the actual state of things.

Every man in the Southern States, sees, and feels that there never was before such hard times among us.—We labor and we toil, and still with difficulty we get along. Our people feel the load, but many of them do not understand how it falls upon them. It is time that they should begin to look around them, and stand up for their rights. The object of the resolutions I hold in my hand, is to adopt measures for understanding the cause of our oppressions, and to study the remedies necessary to be applied.

The following resolutions were then read by Col. McNamara and unanimously adopted:—

Resolved, That the present crisis in our Government is one, that loudly calls on every freeman to examine well into the causes that have brought it about, and diligently to search out for the proper remedies, and apply them so far as may be practicable.

Resolved, That for this purpose, we consider it proper and necessary that measures should be taken to awaken the attention of the people, and to furnish them with facts, and information calculated to enlighten them on the subject.

Resolved, As a means to accomplish this object, that we recommend to our fellow-citizens of Rowan, the formation of a State-Rights, and Anti-Tariff association, and that for this purpose and for adopting any other measure that may seem proper, we recommend to the free-men of Rowan County in each Captains district, to choose three delegates to meet together in Salisbury on Thursday of our next August Court.

Resolved, That the Chairman of this meeting and the assistant Chairmen, appointed with him be instructed to address a circular to the free-men of Rowan explaining the object held in view and inviting them to choose delegates to the meeting.

Resolved, That this meeting appoint some person to deliver an address to the delegates at their meeting, on the subject of the Tariff, and such other subjects as may be connected therewith.

Charles Fisher, Esq. was appointed to deliver the address provided for in the last resolution.

Col. Mcnamara, Dr. John Scott, and James Smith, Esq were appointed the delegates on the part of Rowan, to meet those of Davidson and Montgomery, at the "Healing Springs" on the first Saturday in August to nominate an elector on the State rights ticket for President and Vice President of the U. States.

A Resolution was adopted, directing that the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the officers of the meeting and published in the Western Carolinian.

CHS. FISHER *Chm.*

SAML. LEMLY
ROST. McNAMARA
JAS. SMITH
N. PARTEE
} *Assist. Chm.*

HENY GILES
J. C. McCONNAUGHEY
} *Sec'ry.*

☞ We have commenced the publication of Mr. McDuffie's speech against the Tariff in this days paper & will continue it until finished.—We ask all to lay aside prejudice and to give this speech a careful and candid reading. It is a subject in which every man is interested, and therefore no one ought to let the present opportunity of informing himself upon it escape.

It will be seen by reference to another column of our paper, that books have been opened in the town of Statesville for the purpose of receiving subscriptions to the Central Rail Road. We hope our Iredell friends, will not fail to show their zeal for the accomplishment of so great an undertaking by stepping forward, and subscribing liberally for Stock. The survey is now making for the route of the Railway, and they will, we hope soon be presented with the report of the Engineer, and we doubt not that it will be in favor of its practicability.

Our readers will not regret that we have given the room, in the Columns of the Carolinian, which we usually occupy, to other more interesting matter.

THE TARIFF IS VANQUISHED OVER US.

The last Washington papers bring us an account of the passage of the bill, for the reduction of the duties on imports, in the House of Representatives. This bill, like Mr. Clay's, proposes to reduce the duties on the unprotected articles, and to raise them on the protected, thus reducing the duties on Silks, Wines, &c. articles mostly used by the rich, and leaving them on Iron, Coarse Woollens, Sugar, &c. articles mostly used by the poor. But it takes off about $4,000,000 of the 28 that are taken from the pockets of the people of the South and given as bounties to the manufacturers of the North. And this is called compromise? Compromise indeed! If you are robbed of $25 and the rogue says "Oh, Sir, for the sake of that harmony which has subsisted between us, I will in a spirit of compromise, give you back four and a half." *You would doubtless* call it compromise.

This project is easily seen through. The tariff majority began to perceive that the people of the South were in earnest, when they said they would not bear the system as a *permanent* one, and therefore they passed this bill in order to amuse them—in order to create divisions among them, to weaken their efforts in the attempt to rid themselves of this iniquitous system. We are sorry that some of our Representatives were deceived by the manœuvre, and voted for the bill, but we are equally glad to find that our patriotic Representative, Mr. Rencher, was not wheedled into a support of the bill, but voted with Branch, McKay and Carson against it.—They deserve, as they will receive, the support of their constituents for their independent and manly stand, when so tempting a bribe, as Mr. Adams's bill, was held out to them. We will recur to this subject again.

☞ We respectfully recommend to the other Western Countries to follow the example of Rowan in directing the attention of the people to the subject of the Tariff, and in adopting such measures as to them may seem most fit to secure the vote of this State for Jackson and Barbour at the approaching election for President and Vice-President.

☞ We have received the proceedings of a very large and respectable meeting of the friends of Jackson & Barbour which assembled in the C. H. in Davidson Cty. on the 4th inst., necessity compels us to defer their publication until our next. Our correspondent says there were at least 300 persons present.

New papers.—We have received the first number of a new weekly paper, published in Greenville, S. C. by Edited by Tarrar Bynum, Esq. called the "Southern Sentinel." We will cheerfully "exchange."

We have also received the first number of a new Religious paper published in the city of Richmond called the "Religious Sentinel." It is neatly printed on an imperial sheet, with new type—We wish its conductors success.

☞ A new Post Office, has been established in Iredell County N. C., by the name of Muddy Fork, five miles from James M Reade and nine miles from the corner of Iredell, Wilkes and Burke, of which Mr. George W. Jones has been appointed Post Master

DIED.

In this place, on Thursday the 5th inst Ellen Rebecca infant daughter of Mr. Alfred Medra.

On the same day Mary daughter of Mr. Isaac Earnheart aged six years.

A LIST OF LETTERS

REMAINING in the Post Office at Salisbury, North Carolina, July 1st 1832.

Geo. Andrews
Messrs Anderson & Co.
Thomas Benson
Wm. Barber
Tobias Brown
James, David, or
Moses Brown
Moses L. Brown
Jacob Brown 2
Elizabeth Blackwood
ad ford Bailey
John Barringer
John Clary
John Carter
Levi Campbell
James Carter
Dr. C. Clark 2
Wm. Cowan 2
Rowland Cramp
Elizabeth Crider
Joseph Clifford
John Campbell
Major Carlos
Ghaem Cain
Nathan Chaffin
Daniel Egner
John Elliott
Willis Ellis
Jacob Elliston
Peter Eagle
Edwd. Earnhart
Anton Ewald
Henry Fite
Hetty Gibson
Wm. Gibson 2
John Goodman
Geo. H. Green
W. D. Hollen
Joseph P. Hampton
J. W. Harm
Hannah Hill
John C. Hawkins
W. D. Henderson
Margaret Hall
Chas. Hopkins
John Henley
Leroy Hightour
Jacob Holthouser
Thos. Hartley
John Hide
Wm. Hayden, jr.
A. R. Jones
Saml. Jessy
Andrew Julian 2
Rev. Wadl. Johnson
D. H. Jewett 2
Dr. A. Kimbrel
Andrew Kinsade
Dr. John King
John Lackey
Rich. Locke 2
John Locke
Danl. Lyrie
Eleanor Leach
Chas. P. Meagman
Jas C. McConnaughey
Geo. McConnaughey
John McCanless
John W. Moyle
Nancy McCorkle
Jas. Neason 2
Joseph Oldford
Henry G. Potter
Jesse Parks
David Parks
Thos. Philips
Ann Parks
Elizabeth Potter
John Powell
Jane Robinson 2
Eliza Robinson 2
Saml. Ribelin
John Ritchie
George Rex
Noah Reed
Wm. Rich
Phelix Robinson
N. W. Rountree
Christ. Reinhardt
Jas. D. Smith
W. P. Stockton
Catharine Smoot
Sarah B. Smith
Richd. Shaver
Peter Swink
Harley D. Shearer
Henry Smith
Levi Steel
Henry G. Smith
John Tresler
Jacob Travis
Heze. Turner
Susanna Tarr
Saml. Turner, or
Jas. Owens
John Woolfolk
John H. Weant
Cyrus W. West
Thos. Wallace
Jacob Watson
Ebenezer Wells
John Young

3t33 SAMUEL REEVES, P. M.

REMOVAL.

HARRISS & SHAVER would respectfully inform their friends and the public generally, that they have removed their CARRIAGE-MAKING ESTABLISHMENT, to their new Shop two doors below the former residence of Dr. Pemead, on Water Street, where they are always ready to attend to the calls of their friends, in their line of Business; such as the making and repairing of Carriages Gigs, Sulkeys &c.

☞ The blacksmith business is still continued in all its various branches, by JOHN L. SHAVER, at his old stand. 30t6

CENTRAL RAILROAD.

AGREEABLE to an act of the Legislature of North Carolina passed at their last session, entitled "an act to incorporate the North Carolina Central Rail Road company" the subscribers do hereby inform all who feel themselves interested in accomplishing the great and important object contemplated by said act, that Book's are now opened in the town of Statesville for the purpose of receiving subscriptions, at the storehouses of Messrs Falls, Simonton, Cowan, Young, Stockdon and Foster, and also, at the Post Office. Any particular information in relation to the subject will be furnished by the subscribers.

THEO. FALLS,
JOHN MUSHAT,
W. F. COWAN.

June 20th 1832. 2t33

A LIST OF LETTERS

REMAINING in the Post Office in Lincolnton N. C. on the 1st July 1832

Vinson Alen
Jacob Abernathy
Edwd. Butler
G. Rodney Bartlett
Jacob Burns
Joseph Brevard
Wiley Black
Wm. Bailey, jr.
Theo. W. Brevard
Absalom Brown
J. H. Barringer
Jonas Bradshaw
Geo. Bolinger
Miss P. Berry
Joseph Bradshaw
Benj. Bird
Elizabeth Bolly
Jacob Berry
James Bridges
Elias Best
John Blackwood
John Cline
Jacob Conner
Col. Dixon and Brother
Wm. Cobb
David Costner
H. F. Carnahan
John Coulter
David Conrad
Clerk of Supr. Court
David H. Darr
Lindsay Davis 2
Wm. Dannals 3
Jame Dellingham
Danl. M. Forney and others
Jas. Ferguson
Jas. B. Forney
Philip Fry
Nicholas Fry
Daniel Finger
Joseph Gladen
A. B. Gregory
Henry Hoke, jr.
E. B. Hibbard
Joseph Harlan
Geo. Hoover.

3t33 C. C. HENDERSON, P. M.

NOTICE.

ALL persons indebted to the Estate of SAMUEL CRAWFORD dec'd., are requested to come forward & make payment, & all persons having claims against the Estate to present them for payment as this will be plead in bar of their recovery.

FURGUS GRAHAM, Adm'r.

$25 REWARD.

STOLEN from the subscriber living in Winnsborough, on 27th May last a negro man named CATO. He is about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches in height speaks in a low tone of voice and is generally civil and polite—has an intelligent countenance and can read well. He is about 28 years of age and dark complexion.

Also Milly his wife, a large fat woman with an open pleasant countenance. They took with them three children. The eldest is a dark mulatto boy, about six years old, son of Milly named Carter—The second a girl, dark complexion, about two years named Caroline and third an infant about three months old named Eli.—The two last are children of Cato and Milly.

The above negroes were raised in Sumpter District, S. Carolina. If they are not stolen, they will attempt to pass, it is probable, as free.

The above reward, besides all necessary expenses will be paid to any person who will return the above negroes to the subscriber or lodge them in any jail, and give information, so they can be obtained. $100 for the apprehension of the thief upon conviction and $25 for the apprehension of the negroes. WM. BREARLY.

Winnsborough S. C. June 30 1832. 4t34

Cheaper than Ever!

COME & Buy BARGAINS!!

COWAN & JENKINS

RESPECTFULLY inform their customers and the public at large, that they have received, and are now opening, at their Store, 13 miles West of Salisbury, a splendid assortment of Staple and Fancy *Dry Goods, Hard-Ware, Groceries, Crockery, Hats, Bonnets, Shoes & Saddlery, &c.*, selected by one of the Firm, with great care, and bought exclusively for cash in Philadelphia and N. York, and will be sold at reduced prices. Persons desirous of purchasing bargains, would do well to call and examine their stock before they buy.

For the encouragement heretofore received, they return their sincere thanks to the generous citizens of Rowan and its vicinity, and hope by strict attention to business, and selling Goods at reduced prices, to merit a continuance of the same.

POETRY.

The World we have not Seen.

There is a world we have not seen,
That time shall neither dare destroy;
Where mortal footstep hath not been,
Nor earth hath caught its sound of joy.

There is a region, lovelier far,
Than eagles tell or poets sing,
Brighter than summer beauties are,
And softer than the tints of spring.

There is a world and O how blest!
Fairer than prophets ever told,
And never did an angel guest,
One half its blessedness unfold.

It is all holy and serene,
The land of glory and repose;
And there to dim the radiant scene,
The tear of sorrow never flows.

It is not fann'd by summer gale,
'Tis not refreshed by vernal showers;
It never needs the moon beam pale,
For there are known no evening hours.

No—for this world is ever bright,
With a pure radiance all its own;
The streams of uncreated light
Flow round it from the eternal home.

There, forms that mortals may not see,
Too glorious for the eye to trace,
And clad in peerless majesty,
Move with unutterable grace.

In vain the philosophic eye
May seek to view the fair abode,
We find it in the certain'd sky:
It is the dwelling place of God!

VARIETY.

Anecdote.—A certain physician at sea, made great use of sea water among his patients.—Whatever disease came on, a dose of the nauseating liquid was first thrown down. In process of time the doctor fell overboard. A great bustle consequently ensued on board, in the midst of which the captain came up, and anxiously enquired the cause. "Oh, nothing, sir," answered a tar, "only the doctor has fell into his *medicine chest*."

Royal Fun.—When Lord Brougham was dining with the King at Brighton, he apologised, in relating to his Majesty a story of some very notorious criminal, with whom the rope broke as he was being hanged, and who was accordingly strung up again. "Oh," said his Majesty, "since the man was so famous, he well deserved to be *re-corded*.

A Rogue in Grain.—A person wishing to purchase a number of yards of bed ticking, he called at a store, the merchant had but one piece, and it lacked just one yard of the quantity, the purchaser *must* have just such a number of yards, and was about leaving the store, when the merchant said he carried a piece to his house the day previous that contained just about the quantity wanted, the piece they were looking at would answer his purpose and he would carry it to the house, and bring back the other. "I started," said he, (we had the story from the merchant's own mouth) "ran into a back yard, unrolled the piece put it round a smooth post, and gave it a most d——l of a pulling, rolled it up and measured it off to my customer, when it held out a *quarter of a yard over what he wanted*, which, in consideration of his waiting for me to go to my house, I very generously *gave him t*"

Dr. Rees mentions as one of the most extraordinary facts on record, that, some years ago, in the examination of an Egyptian mummy, which had probably been preserved 1000 years, there was found in one of the hands a bulbous root, which was put into the ground, and vegetated as fresh as if it had been recently transplanted.

Lord W——was looking very sour and blue at a long bill from Madam Meradan Curtoon, enlarged, not contracted, by her Ladyship. "W——, my love, are you angry with me," said her ladyship in a tone of bewitching softness, "that you look so cross!" "Oh no," said his lordship; "I feel at this moment you are *dearer* to me than ever!"

Scolds.—I never knew a scolding person that was able to govern a family. What makes people scold is because they cannot govern themselves. How then can they govern others? Those who govern well are generally calm. They are prompt and resolute, but steady and mild.

Two tory members, standing at the window of a club-room the other day, observed a man running past in breathless haste. "What can that fellow be in such a hurry about?" asked one.—"Oh," replied the other, "he is afraid of being caught and made a peer."

Appearance of the dead.—It frequently happens that the features of the dead retain their entire form and individual likeness for many years after their burial. Experience, however has proved that on an exposure to the air for some minutes, dust returns to dust again. The following circumstances occurred at the disinterment of the body of Robert Burns, the Poet, sometime in the year 1815, for the purpose of being entombed beneath a splendid monument.

As a report had been spread that the principle coffin was made of oak, a hope was entertained that it would be possible to transport it from the north to the east corner of St. Michael's without opening it, or disturbing the sacred deposite it contained. But this hope proved fallacious. On testing the coffin, it was found to be composed of the common materials, and ready to yield to the slighest pressure; and the lid removed, a spectacle was unfolded, which considering the fame of the mighty dead, has rarely been witnessed by a single human being. There were the remains of the great poet, to all appearance nearly entire and retaining various traces of vitality or rather exhibiting the features of one who had newly sunk into the sleep of death—the scalp still covered with hair and the teeth perfectly firm and white. The scene was so imposing that most of the workmen stood bare and uncovered, as Dr. Gregory did at the exhumation of the remains of the illustrious hero of Bannockburn and at the same time felt their frames thrilling with some undefinable emotion, as they gazed on the ashes of him whose fame is as wide as this world itself. But that effect was momentary when they proceeded to insert a shell or case below the coffin the head separated from the trunk and the whole body with the exception of the bones crumbled into dust.

BY AUTHORITY

LAWS OF THE U. STATES

Passed at the first Session of the Twenty-Second Congress.

No. 42.

AN ACT making appropriations for Indian annuities, and other similar objects, for the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty two.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of three hundred and thirty six thousand four hundred and five dollars be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the payment of the annuities due to the various Indians and Indian tribes hereinafter mentioned, including the sum of twenty-four thousand five hundred dollars, stipulated for education of Indian youths; twenty-five thousand four hundred and seventy dollars, stipulated for the expenses of blacksmiths, gun smiths, millers, millwrights, agriculturists, and laborers employed on Indian service, and for furnishing salt, tobacco, iron and steel et caetera; and four thousand three hundred and sixty dollars for expenses of transportation and distribution of certain annuities and agricultural implements, not otherwise provided for, for the service of the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, that is to say:

To the Wyandot tribe, five thousand nine hundred dollars.

To the Wyandot, Munsee, and Delaware tribes, one thousand dollars.

To the Shawanee tribe, three thousand dollars, and sixty dollars for furnishing salt.

To the Shawanee and Seneca tribes, of Lewistown, one thousand dollars.

To the Delaware tribe, six thousand five hundred dollars, and one hundred dollars for furnishing salt.

To the Wea tribe, three thousand dollars.

To the Piankeshaw tribe, eight hundred dollars.

To the Kaskaskias tribe, one thousand dollars.

To the Ottowa tribe, five thousand three hundred dollars.

To the Ottowa and Missouri tribes, two thousand five hundred dollars, and fifteen hundred dollars for the expenses of blacksmiths' tools and agricultural implements.

To the Chippewa tribe, three thousand eight hundred dollars; also, one thousand dollars for the purposes of education, and two thousand dollars for the purchase of farming utensils and cattle, and the employment of persons to aid them in agriculture.

To the Chippewa, Ottowa, and Pottawatamie tribes, sixteen thousand dollars, and one hundred and twenty-five dollars for furnishing salt,

To the Pottawatamie tribe of Huron, four hundred dollars.

To the Choctaw tribe, fifty thousand nine hundred and twenty-five dollars; to Mushulatubbe, a chief one hundred and fifty dollars, and to Robert Cole, a chief one hundred and fifty dollars; also, twelve thousand five hundred dollars for purposes of education, and two thousand nine hundred and fifty-five dollars for expenses of blacksmiths and millwrights, and for furnishing iron and steel.

To the Eel river tribe, one thousand one hundred dollars.

To the Six Nations, New York, four thousand five hundred dollars, and two hundred dollars to the Young King, a chief of the Seneca nation.

To the Seneca tribe, New York, six thousand dollars.

To the Creek tribe, thirty-four thousand five hundred dollars.

To the Cherokee tribe, ten thousand dollars; also two thousand dollars for purposes of education.

To the Chickasaw tribe, twenty-three thousand dollars.

To the Sac tribe, three thousand dollars.

To the Sac and Fox tribes, two thousand dollars.

To the Sac, Fox and Ioway tribes three thousand dollars, for expenses of blacksmiths and agriculturists, and furnishing farming utensils and cattle.

To the Fox tribe, three thousand dollars.

To the Ioway tribe, three thousand dollars; also nine hundred dollars for expenses of blacksmiths, and furnishing agricultural tools.

To the Osage tribe, eight thousand five hundred dollars.

To the Seneca tribe, of Lewistown, one thousand dollars.

To the Quapaw tribe, two thousand dollars.

To the Kickapoo tribe of Illinois, two thousand dollars.

To the Florida Indians, five thousand dollars; also one thousand dollars for purposes of education, and one thousand dollars for the expenses of a gun and blacksmith.

To the Miami tribe, twenty-five thousand dollars; also two thousand dollars for the support of the poor and infirm, and education of youth; and two thousand and twenty dollars for expenses of blacksmith, and for furnishing salt, iron, steel and tobacco.

To the Winnebago tribe, eighteen thousand dollars; also three thousand seven hundred and ninety dollars for expenses of blacksmiths and agriculturists, and for furnishing salt and tobacco.

To the Kanza tribe, three thousand five hundred dollars.

To the Christian Indians, four hundred dollars.

To the Sioux tribe, of Mississippi, two thousand dollars; also, one thousand seven hundred dollars for expenses of blacksmith, and furnishing agricultural tools.

To the Yaneton and Santie bands, three thousand dollars; also, one thousand four hundred dollars for expenses of blacksmith and furnishing agricultural tools.

To the Omaha tribe, two thousand five hundred dollars; also, one thousand five hundred dollars for expenses of blacksmith, and furnishing agricultural tools.

To the Sac tribe of Missouri river, five hundred dollars; also, nine hundred dollars for expenses of blacksmith, and furnishing agricultural tools.

For purposes of education of Sacs, Foxes and others, as stipulated for by the treaty of fifteenth July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty, three thousand dollars; and

To Little Billy of the Seneca tribe, of New-York, for the term of his natural life, an annuity of fifty dollars.

To Anderson, three hundred and sixty dollars, and to Lapahnilhe, one hundred and forty dollars, chiefs of the Delaware nation, agreeably to an understanding of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of one thousand eight hundred and eighteen.

For expenses of transportation and distribution of annuities to the Winnebagoes, Chippewas, Ottowas, and Pottawatamies, Sacs, Foxes, and others, and of salt, tobacco, agricultural implements, and tools, not otherwise provided for, the sum of four thousand three hundred and sixty dollars.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That so much of any act as provides for the payment of any of the annuities and shipulations herein mentioned, shall be, and the same is hereby, repealed,

A. STEPHENSON
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
J. C. CALHOUN,
Vice-President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved, May 31, 1832.
ANDREW JACKSON.

no. 45.

AN ACT authorising the Secretary of the Treasury to permit a wharf to be built near the iste of the light-house, on Stratford point, in the State of Connecticut.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to permit a wharf to be built near the sight of the light-house, on Stratford point, in the State of Connecticut, and to grant the use of such land belonging to the United States as may be required for that purpose: *Provided*, The use of such wharf shall continue only so long as, in the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury, it does not interfere with the interests of the United States.

Approved, June 15, 1832.

no. 46.

AN ACT to create the office of Surveyor of Public Lands for the Territory of Arkansas.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a surveyor for the Territory of Arkansas shall be appointed, who shall have the same authority, and perform the same duties respecting the public lands and private land claims in the Territory of Arkansas as are now vested in, and required of, the surveyor of the lands of the United States in Missouri and Illinois.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the surveyor for Missouri and Illinois to deliver to the surveyor for the Territory of Arkansas, all the maps, papers, records, and documents relating to the public lands and private land claims in Arkansas, which may be in his office; and in every case where it shall be impracticable to make a separation of such maps, papers, records, and documents, without injury, it shall be his duty to cause copies thereof, certified by him, to be furnished to the surveyor of Arkansas, which copies shall be of the same validity as the originals.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That the surveyor of Arkansas, to be appointed in pursuance of this act, shall establish his office at such place as the President of the United States may deem most expedient for the public service and that he shall be allowed an annual salary of fifteen hundred dollars, and that he be authorized to employ one skillful draughtsman and two clerks, whose aggregate compensation shall not exceed eighteen hundred dollars per annum.

Approved, June 15, 1832.

NOTICE.

THE undersigned having been appointed Ranger of Rowan County, hereby forewarns all persons from keeping Strays and not entering the same under the penalty of the Law within the time prescribed. I will keep the Book my self about 3 miles from Salisbury at my residence. 5:34

WOODSON MONROE.

$25 REWARD.

ON Sunday night the 10th inst., my Store was broken open and robbed of sundry articles: Also, on the same night, was stolen out of my stable a Bay HORSE, with long mane and tail, fifteen and a half hands high, a small star in his fore-head, several saddle marks on his back, and six years old last spring. Suspicion has rested on a man who calls himself *JOHN SMITH*, and, who, from his own report, has been a driver of show waggons for several years. He appears to be about 23 or 24 years old, 5 feet 10 inches high, light hair, sallow complection, full faced, and pug-nosed.—Had on a white hat with black crape on it: also, a brown dress-coat, velvet collar, pantaloons the same colour—the above reward will be paid for the thief and horse or either of them.

J. F. De BARDELABEN.
Chester D. C. June 22d, 3:32

HOUSE & LOT
FOR SALE.

A Dwelling house, with every necessary out building, on one of the most eligible lots in town for sale. For terms, apply to the subscriber. 4:31

WILLIAM J. POLK.

Runaway

ON the 10th of September last, from my plantation in Jones county, two negroes, one named WASHINGTON, about 27 years of age, a very bright mulatto, on one of his hands there is a scar occasioned by a gin; he will change his name and endeavor to pass for a free man. The other named JOHN, a common mulatto, about 30 years of age, very intelligent; he will probably pass as the servant of Washington, and change his name. A reward of 25 Dollars will be given for the delivery of either in any jail, so that I can get them. JAMES LAMAR.

October 16th, 42tf

☞ The Georgian, Savannah; the Telescope, Columbia, S. C.; and Richmond Enquirer, are requested to publish the above weekly until forbid, and then forward their accounts to J. LAMAR.

WAGGONERS,
Driving to Fayetteville,

WILL find it to their advantage, to stop at the *Wagon Yard*, where every convenience is provided for Man and Horse, to make them comfortable, at themoderate charge of 25 cents a day and night, for the privilege of the Yard, the use of a good house, fire, water, and shelter. Attached to the Yard, are a Grocery and Provision Store, Bread Shop and Confectionary, and a House for Boarders and Lodgers in a plain, cheap, wholesome and comfortable style.—*Fayetteville April, 1st 1832.* 11

JOB PRINTING,
OF EVERY DESCRIPTION,
EXECUTED WITH NEATNESS & DESPATCH
AT THIS OFFICE.

NEW FANCY
SPRING & SUMMER
GOODS.

HACKETT & LEMLY

ARE now receiving and opening a general assortment of

SPRING & SUMMER GOODS,

selected with great care from the markets of New-York and Philadelphia of the latest importations. Their stock consists in part of

Superfine Blue and Black cloths
Do. Brown & Brown olive do.
Do. invisible Green do.
Fancy Cassimeres, Sattinette & black lastings,
Merino do's., Brochellas and circassians,
Brown do's., Mixed Erminette,
Yellow Nankeen and linen checks,
French and plaid Drillings,
Mexican mixture, Grass linen,
English casinetta, German & Irish linens,
Linen Table and towel diaper, &c.

A GENERAL ASSORTMENT OF
Marseilles, and Velentia Vestings,

A GREAT VARIETY OF FANCY
Prints, Ginghams and Muslins,
Tickings, Bleached and Brown,
Sheetings and Shirtings,
Furniture dimity and Cotton fringes,
Black Italian Silk,
Seenchew & sarsinet do.
Blue black silk cambletz,
Cha. gros de Naples,
Milanese and de Romania Gause,
Pongee, flag and bandana Handkerchiefs,
Crimson Pongee do.
Fancy Gause and Crape do.
Scarfs, silk sattin, and rich figured vestings,
Silk and cotton Hosiery,

A GREAT VARIETY of RICH
Fancy bonnet, belt and cap ribbons,
Silk aprons,
Linen cambric handkerchiefs, fans, &c.
Diamond Straw Bonnets,
Polish do. do.
Belgian do. do., Palm leaf hats,
Leghorn bonnets, fur and wool do.

A GREAT VARIETY OF
Latin and Greek School Books,
Shoes, Morocco skins,
Hardware and Cutlery,
Glass and Crockery-ware, &c. &c.

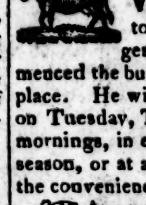
A GENERAL ASSORTMENT OF
Carpenter's Tools, consisting of every article made use of by Carpenters in this part of the Country,
Sadler's Trimmings,
Plated, Brass Jappan, and Prince's mettle,
Harness mounting, coach fringe and lace,
A good assortment of Groceries, &c. &c.

ALL of which, they are determined to sell as low as goods can be had in this part of the country. Purchasers will do well to call and see our stock and hear prices before they buy.

H. & L. are grateful to the Public for their very liberal patronage heretofore, and hope by strict attention to business, and selling goods cheap, to merit a continuance of the same. 21tf

Salisbury, April 28th 1832.

BUTCHERING!!
John I. Shaver



WOULD respectfully inform his old customers, and the public generally, that he has commenced the butchering business in this place. He will have beef in market on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday mornings, in each week, during the season, or at any other time to suit the convenience of his customers.

☞ Any person having beeves for sale can obtain the highest prices for them, in cash, by applying to the subscriber. J. I. SHAVER.

June 16th 1832. 28tf

JULIUS J. REEVES

RESPECTFULLY informs his customers and the public at large, that he is now receiving and opening at his Store, Rocky Mount, 14 miles West of Salisbury, a handsome assortment of

DRY GOODS, HARD-WARE, CUTLERY, &c.

Selected by himself in New York and Philadelphia, from the latest importations; and if quality, variety & neatness of style, reduced prices, & close attention to business, be any inducement to purchasers, he hopes to merit a liberal share of their patronage.

June 18th, 1832. 3mt39pd.

NEW SPRING
AND SUMMER GOODS,
MICHAEL BROWN

RESPECTFULLY informs his customers, and the public at large, that he is now receiving and opening at his Store in Salisbury, a splendid assortment of

GOODS,

selected by himself in *PHILADELPHIA* and *NEW-YORK* from the latest importations for 1832, and which he offers to purchasers as low as any GOODS of the same quality can be bought in this market. He hopes from his attention to business, the quality of his GOODS, and the extreme lowness of his prices, to merit a continuance of patronage so liberally bestowed towards him, and for which he now returns his grateful thanks.

Among his assortment will be found all that is

NEW & FASHIONABLE,

comprising every article that is usually kept in Stores.

N. B. All kinds of country produce taken in exchange for Goods. 14:37

Salisbury, May the 10th 1832.

TAILORING!
HORACE H. BEARD,

RESPECTFULLY informs the public that he has recently received, and will continue to receive regularly, as they are published, the London and New York Fashions, from A. F. Segueza, of New York. Therefore, he is prepared to accommodate his customers in a neat and fashionable style. For durability, taste and fashion, his work far surpasses any done in this County. A very important object to the customer is, that he cuts out of less cloth and uses less trimmings than any Tailor in the place; which is worthy of consideration.

N. B. All garments made by the subscriber will be warranted to fit.

14tf HORACE H. BEARD,
Salisbury, 1832.

DR. ASHBEL SMITH

IN a letter received by a friend, dated at Paris in April last, Doct. Smith requests that his respects be presented to his former patrons, and the citizens of Rowan in general, and to inform them that he expects to reach home in time to resume his practice of Medicine, by the first of August, or sooner.

He will occupy his room on Main Street near the Store of Messrs. Hackett & Lemly. 29tf

New Goods!

DANIEL E. CRESS is just receiving his fall and winter supply of Goods, which with his former stock, comprises every article usually kept in a Country retail store, which he will sell low for cash or on a short credit to punctual dealers. The public are respectfully requested to call and judge for themselves.

HE also continues the manufacture of STILL and TIN WARE, warranted to be made of the best materials, and in a superior style of workmanship. Having a very large stock of Tin ware on hand and being determined to sell it at reduced prices merchants would do well to call on him and get their supply.

☞ Old Copper, Pewter, Feathers' Tallow, Beeswax, and Wool, taken in exchange. 609

CHARLESTON and CHERAW.
THE STEAM BOAT MACON

CAPT. J. C. GRAHAM having been engaged last summer, in running between Charleston and Cheraw calling at Geo. Town on her way up and down, will resume her Trips in the course of a few days and is intended to be continued in the trade the ensuing season.

Her exceeding light draft of Water drawing when loaded only about four and a half feet water will enable her to reach Cheraw at all times except, an uncommon low river, when her cargo will be lightened at the Expence of Boat.

J. B. CLOGH.

Charleston Sept. 26, 1831.

N. B. She has comfortable accommodations for a few passengers. 92tf

J. B. C

5 CENTS REWARD.
RANAWAY.

FROM the subscriber, on the 20th day of May last an indented apprentice to the Blacksmith trade, by the name of *JOEL SMARTT*; he perhaps may call himself *NOEL*. He is about 16 years of age, about four feet 3 or 4 inches high. He had on when he left, a white pair of pantaloons and blue and white check waistcoat. All persons are hereby forewarned from harboring or employing said boy, under the penalty of the law 3t31

JESSE DEADMAN.

June 25th 1832.

Strayed.

FROM the Subscriber, on the 5th day of April last, a BAY MARE, about seven years old this spring, of common size, with one hind foot white, not recollected which, believed to have an S on her left shoulder, racks and trots very well. The last information had from her was at Col. Kelly's plantation, on the South Yadkin. It is supposed that she will make her way towards West Tennessee as she was lately brought from there. Any person who may take up said mare, may direct information to Mocksville Post Office where they shall receive a reasonable reward, and all expenses paid by

JACOB CORNATZAR.

Rowan County, June 14th 1832.

3t31 PD.

W. J. JONES
ATTORNEY AT LAW.

WILL practise in the Courts of this County, Davidson, Mecklenburg & Cabarrus. His office is a few doors below the Court-House.

October 8th, 1831 92tf

LAW NOTICE.

BURTON CRAIGE *will practice law* in the county courts of Rowan. He may, at all times, be found, at the office of the Carolinian. 606

State of North-Carolina,

MONTGOMERY COUNTY.

Superior Court of Law, March term, 1832.

SALLY MORGAN vs JONATHAN MORGAN. } *Petition for Divorce.*

It appearing to the satisfaction of the Court that the defendant Jonathan Morgan is not an inhabitant of this State, it is therefore ordered, that publication be made for three months in the Western Carolinian, printed at Salisbury, and in the North Carolina Journal, printed at Fayetteville, that the said Jonathan Morgan appear at the next Superior Court of Law, to be held for the county of Montgomery, at the Court-House in Lawrenceville, on the first Monday in September next, and answer said petition or it will be heard ex parte and judgment granted against him pro confesso.

WITNESS, Farquhar Martin, Clerk of our Superior Court at Office, the first Monday in March, A. D. 1832, and of the American Independence the 56th. FAR. MARTIN, *Clk.*

PRICE ADV. $6.50. 13:33

BLANK DEEDS,

OF every description, neatly Printed, and kept constantly for sale at this office.